A CHRISTIAN NEWSLETTER ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Department of International Justice and Goodwill
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
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A PRAYER FOR OUR NATION AND ALL NATIONS

Our Father in heaven, Thou God of all the nations upon the face of the earth, whose will is justice and peace, we confess that we have often loved our own way better than justice and are sometimes eager for peace at great costs others must pay. So wars and hatreds and anguish have come to men and nations. Forgive these sins and turn us from all evil ways.

As citizens of this land so richly blessed by Thee, give us courage, poise, and imaginative love sufficient to carry well the burden of leadership our wealth and power have laid upon us. Teach us to use this strength with patience and restraint, knowing that we are accountable not to ourselves alone but to Thee and to all mankind.

We pray Thy blessing upon the United Nations and on all the representatives there who seek peace and justice through it. As we use this human instrument, guard us from discouragement that would give up hope and from idolatry that would confuse even our best efforts with Thy perfect will. Keep us from the impatience that would turn us away from international cooperation; give us humility sufficient to learn from others' judgments, and such restraint as will draw the nations to us in the common pursuit of peace and freedom.

We acknowledge Thee, Oh God! as the sovereign ruler over all men and nations and pray for the establishment of that City which hath foundations whose builder and maker Thou art. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen!

- Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

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STUDENTS CALL FOR "DISCIPLINE OF THE ACHIEVABLE"

"We must recognize the discipline of the achievable, and at the same time never lose sight of the full demands of the Gospel," in our struggle for greater peace and justice in the world, said the 180 participants in World Student Christian Federation Conference held in Evanston in August.

The Conference received the entire report of the student commission on international affairs and referred it to the member movements of the United Student Christian Council in the U.S. and to the WSCF. Here are some quotations from this thoughtful report:

"International problems must be approached with humility and with a sense of tentativeness, but nevertheless with decision and courage. We are not God; we cannot know the whole truth. Further, we are limited in our outlook and understanding by our national, racial, and economic loyalties and prejudices. But God has given us critical faculties, and we are required to make tentative and provisional judgments upon which we can base responsible action. We must draw deeply from the resources of the Christian faith; we must translate responsibly these principles into concrete policy decisions. To do this we must take into account the insights and facts which we can learn from disciples like history, political science and economics, as well as theology.

"We must be willing to pay the price of responsible participation in the foreign policy decisions of our country. We must recognize the discipline of the achievable, and at the same time never lose sight of the full demands of the Gospel. We recognize that our top policy makers are always restricted by our ignorance, prejudice and complacency. We should ever seek to broaden the area of decision. To act responsibly as citizens we must know something about the nature of world politics. Within our Christian faith, there are resources which help us to understand the fundamental nature of the human situation, the limitations and possibilities of man and of history. We have a clear obligation to be responsibly informed on the issues requiring national decisions. We must be willing to translate our convictions into policy through the political instruments available to us. This means that we must enter the cruel and comprimising arena of politics and try to discern and to express God's will.

"We offer these specific recommendations to the USCC, WSCF and member movements to facilitate a basic understanding of world affairs among Christian students: A more vigorous study of the Biblical resources which will contribute to a better understanding of the possibilities and limitations of man's responsibility to the world community; The widespread study of ecumenical pronouncements in this area, including statements of the WCC and national ecumenical bodies and statements of the several communions."

EVANSTON AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

This is not the place to summarize the report of Section IV at the World Council Assembly. Already the report has been widely publicized. It appeared in full in the Sept. 22 Christian Century and now official copies of the report are available for 5¢ each from the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y. The Department of International Justice and Goodwill is tentatively planning to publish at the request of the World Council a study guide based primarily on this report.

WORLD ORDER DAY - 1954

Our program folder, World Order Day - 1954, was prepared not only for use on October 24, but throughout the coming year. Those of you who have not been sent a copy before will receive one with this newsletter. Additional copies available from P and D, 120 E. 23 St., New York 10, N.Y., 5¢ each, $4.50 a hundred.

WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION SEEMS WITHIN GRASP

The signing of the Paris agreements on Saturday, October 24, was a long step forward in the quest for unity and security in Western Europe. West Germany was given effective sovereignty and the right ro arm, and was brought into an Atlantic community of 340,000,000 people. Early parliamentary ratification is expected.

These achievements, on the heels of the recent defeat of the European Defense Community, were spectacular. They were made possible by the Adenauer-Mendes-France agreement on the Saar and by Britain's commitment of four divisions and a tactical air force to the continent. Mr. Dulles had high praise for his European colleagues -- Mr. Eden, Dr. Adenauer, and M. Mendes-France.

This is not the place to give details of the agreements which Secretary Dulles and other commentators described as "historic." Section 4 of the Sunday N. Y. Times carries perhaps the best brief summaries of international affairs available.

OTHER SIGNIFICANT INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

** Russia, dismayed by the new developments at Paris, launched a new "peace drive" to prevent the fulfillment of the Western European Union. Three weeks before she had made what appeared on the surface to be a promising approach to the disarmament deadlock. This approach is still under serious consideration by the U.S. and other Western powers. Soviet spokesmen have also made a new call for German reunification and for the first time have seemed to agree to all-German elections as the first step toward that end. Western observers believe these moves are designed to prevent the ratification of the Paris agreements.

** Trieste, an Adriatic harbor, has been claimed both by Italy and Yugoslavia since the end of World War II. Three weeks ago the trouble in Trieste ended when a compromise agreement was signed in London by Italy, Yugoslavia, the U. S. and Britain.

** Atom: Secretary Dulles in his speech at the opening of the current session of the UN Assembly reiterated the intention of the U.S. to support an international agency to discuss the peaceful use of nuclear energy. An international conference of atomic scientists to discuss the peaceful use of nuclear energy is to be held in 1955 under the auspices of the UN.

** Crisis in UN Technical Assistance: The UN Expanded Technical Assistance Program is financed by voluntary contributions from member states. This program is seriously jeopardized by the failure of the U.S. Congress to appropriate any funds for 1955. Persons interested in the continuation of this program, started on the initiative of the U.S., should express themselves to their Senators and Representatives after November 2. (A fact sheet on this situation can be had free from the Information Bureau, National Organizations on the UN, 45 E. 65 St., New York 21, N.Y.)

NIEBUHR SAYS RUSSIA WANTS TO AVOID WAR

"It is now faily clear that the Russions are intent on avoiding (atomic) war as much as we are and probably more so. We do not therefore face an imminent or inevitable catastrophe, though some of our military leaders are tempted to play on the old fears to keep us on our toes, probably because military leaders cannot comprehend the kind of moral and political contest in which we are in fact engaged. This is a mortal conflict in which a misstep on either side may lead to disaster. But it is a contest in which it is more important to avoid the ultimate military and atomic issue than to assure victory in such a conflict. In Mr. Churchill's phrase, that would only be a 'victory on a heap of ruins.' " - Reinhold Niebuhr, Christianity and Crisis, Oct. 18, 1954.

AMONG THE CHURCHES

* Church World Service is initiating a 3-year "share our Surplus" appeal to raise $7,500,000 needed to distribute abroad a minimum of 500,000,000 pounds of surplus foods made available by the U. S. Government.

* United Lutheran: A conference on Christian Faith and International Responsibility was held at Theil College, March 10, 11, 1954, as a follow-up of the Cleveland Conference.

* United Church Women: World Community Day will be observed on Nov. 5 by local Councils of Church Women across the country by studying and by sharing material gifts and money. Last year the World Community Day offering totaled nearly $100,000.

* Congregational Christian: The October number of Social Action deals with "Issues in the Congressional Elections." A new 4-page section of the magazine, "Workshop," edited by Herman F. Reissig, suggests how to use the October number. Each month "Workshop" is printed separately and distributed free to local social action committees and others. The Oct. 4 Advance carried an article on the Church and the UN by Dag Hammarskjold.

* Ohio: During the week of October 24, the Ohio Council of Churches conducted a series of world affairs training conferences on a Congressional district basis. These conferences were planned in cooperation with this Department.

* Rhode Island: The State Council of Churches sponsored a one-day world order conference in Providence, Oct. 23.

* Maine: The State Council has scheduled a world order conference in Waterville, November 5 and 6.

* Presbyterian, U.S.A. The October Social Progress includes special material for World Order Day and an article, "Education for Political Action," by Byron G. Allen. The Oct. 2 Presbyterian Life carried several items related to UN Day.

* Methodist: The national Crusade for World Order is now under way. The Methodist media of communication are keeping members informed. The Board of World Peace, 740 Rush St., Chicago 11, Ill., is distributing a free leaflet, Crusading For World Peace in the Local Church, 1954-1955, by Charles F. Boss, Jr., and other material on the Crusade.

* Tulsa, Oklahoma: On Sept. 13 the Tulsa Council of Churches held a world order conference, drawing heavily on the faculty of Tulsa University for leadership. Senator Robert S. Kerr was scheduled to give the closing address.

THE MODEST AIMS OF THIS NEWSLETTER

This newsletter has three modest objectives -

1) To report on the thinking and activities of the churches in the field of international affairs.

2) To provide a brief summary of major, current foreign policy issues, especially those under consideration in the Congress.

3) To list and identify exceptionally helpful and generally accessible books, pamphlets and current articles.

RECOMMENDED PAMPHLETS AND ARTICLES

** The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, Walter W. Van Kirk, 8 pages. Single copies free from Anti-Defamation League, 212 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N.Y. An address dealing with the effect of the Act on U.S. foreign relations.

** Roll Call on the 83rd Congress, 6 pages, prepared by Congressional Quarterly in consultation with ten denominational agencies. Available for 10¢, $7.50 a hundred, Washington office, National Council of Churches, 122 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington 2, D.C.

** American Churches and International Affairs, the official statements of the Federal and National Councils of Churches, 1948-1953, 18 pages, 25¢, plus postage, P and D Department, 120 E. 23rd St., New York 10, N.Y.

** Russia Re-viewed, A series of daily articles in the N. Y. Times by Harrison E. Salisbury, which began on Sept. 19, 1954. Mr. Salisbury was the Times correspondent in Moscow for the past five years. These articles, representing careful research and honest first-hand observation, are a valuable contribution to understanding the character and intentions of the U.S.S.R.

** The Real Basis of Security: Reviewing the UN Charter is No Answer, Ernest A. Gross, 4 pages, Church Peace Union, 170 E. 64th St., New York 21, N.Y. Single copies free, 100 copies, $1.00.

** The Day We Didn't Go to War, Chalmers M. Roberts, The Reporter, Sept, 14, pages 31-35. The most complete story to date of the Administration's decision to fight and then not to fight in Indo-China. Illustrates complexity of foreign policy problems.

** My Education in Government, Martin Merson, The Reporter, Oct. 7, pages 15-27. A businessman tells how McCarthyism almost wrecked the International Information Administration in the early months of 1953. A vivid and revealing account.

** "Big Brother" in Foggy Bottom, William Harlan Hole, The Reporter, Aug. 17, pages 10-17. A careful report of the new security-loyalty personnel program in the State Department.

THREE BOOKS ON ETHICS AND U. S. FOREIGN POLICY

A great deal is written these days about foreign affairs. It is refreshing when one good book appears -- it is exhilarating when three excellent books come at the same time. The authors of the three slender volumes noted here are among the most perceptive students of U.S. foreign policy today. They all approach the subject with profound theological insight and with a deep sense of moral responsibility. The books have all been highly praised by reviewers.

The Limits of Foreign Policy, Charles Burton Marshall, Holt, 128 pages, $3.

Mr. Marshall, former member of the State Department Policy Planning staff, does not suggest "answers" to foreign policy questions. He attempts to define the narrow limits within such questions must be grappled with. He criticizes both "vain propositions of perfection and destructive self-reproach over failure to achieve it." Each page, witty and well written, displays a profound understanding of man and of history as well as a brilliant grasp of world politics. Here are two quotes:

"Ours is an accountable government. Acceptability to popular opinion is certainly a factor in the conduct of foreign policy.... Popular opinion is not much, if any, value in helping in the discovery of answers.... It certainly counts, however, in setting bounds to the area of maneuver available to those charged with responsibility. A sound general understanding of the limits of foreign policy, avoiding excessive expectations.... is essential to the conduct of a sound foreign policy." (page 13)

"The failure of peace (after World Wars I and II) to live up to the high hopes of the moment of victory shows something to be deceptive about the hopes -- indeed about the concept of victory itself." (page 22)

The Realities of American Foreign Policy, George F. Kennan, Princeton University Press, 120 pages, $2.75.

Mr. Kennan, former Ambassador to the Soviet Union and former chief of the State Department's Policy Planning staff is often referred to as America's top diplomat-philosopher. This book, which he terms "a personal philosophy of foreign policy," is a worthy companion to its distinguished predecessor: American Diplomacy: 1900-1950. Faced with an implacable foe, and a recent past of isolation and withdrawal, America is in for tough times. This book provides no simple or complex "solution," but rather helps us to live with problems we cannot solve. He takes up the problems of dealing with our enemies and with our friends. In his final chapter he indicates several problems which trouble us at home and discredit us abroad. Here are two quotations from this chapter:

"Peoples of the world are not going to be inclined to accept leadership from a country which they feel is drifting in its own internal development and drifting into bad and dangerous waters." (page 114)

"No matter what we may think, individually, of the TVA, it should give us all pause for thought that no other American undertaking has ever commanded more interest and repect in the world beyond our borders." (page 116)

Call to Greatness, Adlai E. Stevenson, Harper, 110 pages, $2.25.

"With a combination of wit, wisdom and old-fashioned reasonableness, the former Governor of Illinois both summons his nation to greatness and recommends a generous dose of Christian humility to go with it." - The New Yorker

UN'S LIMITATIONS "NOT IN THE WORDS OF ITS CHARTER"

"The basic weakness of the UN is not in the words of its Charter, but in the policies of its member states which violate or ignore the principles of the Charter they pledged to uphold," said the National Council of Churches in its annual letter to the U.S. Delegates to the UN Assembly.

The letter, prepared by the Department of International Justice and Goodwill, and adopted by the General Board on September 15, also dealt with the following topics: unification and rehabilitation of Korea, collective security, armament regulation, technical assistance, refugees and the work of the specialized agencies. Single copies of the letter are free on request from the Department.

BISHOP MARTIN ON THE UN

"Today more than ever before the United States needs the United Nations and the United Nations needs the United States. We need the United Nations not because we are week, but because we are strong. Like all powerful nations we are tempted to use our power without taking fully into account the needs and interests of other peoples.

"The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. urges our government to look upon the United Nations not only as a channel of international cooperation, but also as a necessary instrument of restraint on our national action. National interest and international responsibility can be reconciled only when we acknowledge the sovereignty of a God in whose eyes all men are equal. We call upon the people in our churches to observe United Nations Day with prayers of thanksgiving for the world organization and of penitence for our unwillingness to pay the full price of American power."

- Bishop William C. Martin, President, National Council of Churches.

CURRENT AND QUOTABLE

"Mere shibboleths - 'we want peace!' 'we want justice!' - are ineffective and frequently do more harm than good" - O. Frederick Nolde, CCIA.

On the UN: "Since the Organization is a tool created by the governments of members ....and is in no way an end in itself, it is natural that the decision as to whether to use this tool in any given situation" is up to the member nations. - Dag Hammarskjold, in his introduction to his report to the ninth session of the General Assembly.

Keep Open the Channels: "We shall resolutely adhere to the principles of the UN Charter. We shall constantly urge the Communist rulers to do the same. We shall keep open the existing channels of negotiation and shall use them whenever there is any prospect of positive results. - President Dwight D. Eisenhower, 19 Oct., 1954.

Liberation Without Retaliation: "We must not regard our ability to retaliate with atomic bombs as a substitute for a balanced military force. The power of retaliation must not be merchandised to the American public as the total basis of our security.... Liberation, in the European sense, cannot be accomplished by atom or hydrogen bombs. Liberation ... must be achieved not by general war, but by general peace."

- Senator Herbert H. Lehman

"Sovereignty" has become a "bogy," said Dr. Eelco N. van Kleffens, president of the UN General Assembly. "Nothing is more dangerous in international relations than bogies, for they introduce the irrational where the rational is so badly needed." 16 Oct.,1954.

BASIC PAMPHLET LIBRARY (A READING LIST)

This list of 13 titles is available free from Department of International Justice and Goodwill, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y. Includes basic introductions to U.S. foreign policy and world affairs, UN, economic policy, immigration and world Communism.

RECOMMENDED READING

The following titles are recommended for any serious layman who wants solid facts and a sound theoretical background as a foundation for understanding current issues.

** Politics Among Nations, Hans J. Morgenthau, Knopf, (second edition), 625 pages, $5.75. The 1954 edition of this standard work is probably the most highly repected and widely used textbook in the field. If you read only one book in world politics, let this be the one.

** Power and Policy: U.S. Foreign Policy and Military Power in the Hydrogen Age, Thomas K. Finletter, Harcourt, Brace, 408 pages, $5.00. Both those who ignore military factors and those who overemphasize military power would benefit from this able book by a long-time student of foreign affairs and former Secretary of the Air Force.

** The Future of Underdeveloped Countries, Eugene Staley, Harper, 410 pages, $5.00. The subtitle of this book is the "Political-Implications of Economic Development." It is written by an economist and published for the Council on Foreign Relations. The book deals realistically with the "revolution of rising expectations" in Asia and Africa.

** Trade, Aid, or What? Willard L. Thorp, John Hopkins Press, 224 pages, $4.50. A report based on a conference on International Economic Policy in 1953, written by a professor of economics who served for six years as Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.

** Ideals and Self-Interest in America's Foreign Relations, Robert Endicott Osgood, University of Chicago Press, 491 pages, $6.50. This book deals with the struggle between the "idealists" and the "realists," from 1898 to Pearl Harbor. He shows that ideals and self-interest are not mutually exclusive. Brilliant introduction. For mature readers.

** UN Radio: Transcriptions and Recordings: Local groups are encouraged by Miss Dorothy Lewis, UN Dept. of Public Information, to borrow UN recordings from their local radio stations for use at meetings. These recordings are sent to hundreds of radio stations. Check to see if your local station has transcriptions you want to borrow.

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